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Motivational Teaching Strategies for Pronunciation

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Motivational Teaching Strategies for Pronunciation

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Dedication

To all non-native English language users

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Abstract

Motivational Teaching Strategies for Pronunciation

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Current research into L2 motivation addresses all aspects of language learning. However, there is a paucity of research into students' L2 motivations to improve their speaking skills. Specifically, research on pronunciation issues is very rare. This report sheds light on factors that relate to pronunciation issues and their facilitating or hindering effects on L2 motivation. It starts by reviewing research that informs about students' social-psychological and utilitarian motivations to acquire a second language. Interestingly, these general L2 motivations are mostly affected by factors related to students' pronunciation skills. The second section discusses the negative factors, which have been found to hinder students' motivations to learn, and in particular to improve their pronunciation. Based on these research findings, the third section of the report recommends pronunciation-teaching strategies to motivate and empower students. This

report makes a case for a Multi-competence approach that focuses on increased intelligibility through suprasegmentals and sociopragmatic awareness.

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Introduction

The topic of motivation has captured the attention of a motley crew, from corporate CEOs eager to increase their bottom line to collegiate football coaches coveting next year's Heisman to educators wishing to engage their students. In fact, the stereotypical black and white motivational posters of a climber ascending a precipitous cliff are so ubiquitous in schools and offices, they have become jejune. However, the after-effects of motivation may have farther reaching implications than simply bringing a profit margin out of the red, or being doused with Gatorade post game, or even capturing students' attention for the day. This is especially true in the field of second language acquisition where learning another language is not only a key to success, but also the key to a better life, and long-term learning. The social-psychological and utilitarian motives for language learning have remained in the fore ever since Gardner and Lambert's pioneering article of 1959. The fact that theoretical approaches to L2 motivation have continued to evolve by undergoing various paradigm shifts over the years, from Gardner's social-psychological approach to cognitive approaches to the latest neurobiological research (Dörnyei, 2003), suggests that the topic of L2 motivation has not lost its appeal. In fact, it is still very much in its prime.

Current research into L2 motivation addresses all aspects of language learning (i.e., reading, writing, listening, speaking, culture); however, there is a paucity of research into students' L2 motivations to improve their speaking skills. Specifically, research on pronunciation issues is very rare. I argue that although some learners may be roused to learn a language due to social-psychological or utilitarian reasons, paradoxically these

social forces also have the potential to stymie motivation. Social forces, including issues of identity, social bias and discrimination, and communication breakdown, which mostly concern the domain of pronunciation, revolve around L1 and L2 communities and the interactions that occur within and between them.

This report sheds light on factors that relate to pronunciation issues and their facilitating or hindering effects on L2 motivation. It starts by reviewing research that informs about students' social-psychological and utilitarian motivations to acquire a second language. Interestingly, these general L2 motivations are mostly affected by factors related to students' pronunciation skills. The second section discusses the negative factors, which have been found to hinder students' motivations to learn, and in particular to improve their pronunciation (e.g., Chiang, 2009; Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Lippi-Green, 1997). Based on these research findings, the third section of the report recommends pronunciation-teaching strategies to motivate and empower students.

Motivations to Learn a Language

This section provides an overview of research findings regarding the two main motivational forces for learning a second language: *Integrativeness* and *instrumentality*. *Integrativeness* centers on the learners' attitudes toward the target language community, their desire to interact with or become members of that community, and their psychological and emotional identification with that community (Gardner, 1985). *Instrumentality* refers to utilitarian reasons for language learning where learning another language is a means towards an end. Although other fields have expanded the breadth of L2 motivation knowledge by offering additional motivational constructs, integrativeness and instrumentality continually emerge as dominant forces and, thus, they remain the primary focus of the present paper.

Integrativeness

The social-psychological emphasis on *integrativeness* originated in Canada and was used as a means to understand the unique coexistence of the Anglophone and Francophone communities. For example, Gardner and Lambert's (1959) study, which examined the motivations of 75 High School English students studying French as a second language in Canada, reports a significant positive correlation between integratively motivated students (that is, learners who possess favorable attitudes toward the L2 community and the desire to be accepted as a member of the L2 community), and achievement in French.

Other studies also point to *integrativeness* as a driving force in L2 motivation (e.g., Clément & Kruidenier, 1985; Shedivy, 2004). Clément and Kruidenier (1985)

investigated the motivations of 1,180 francophone students in 7th, 9th, and 11th grades from six geographical regions and found that competence is determined by (a) a primary motivational process, (b) a learner's affective regard toward the L2 community which consists of two components—integrativeness and fear of assimilation—, and (c) a secondary motivational process that depends on whether the linguistic milieu is unicultural (contact with the target language group is not available) or multicultural (contact with the target language group is possible). By stepping beyond Gardner and Lambert's unicultural coexistent population, these researchers were able to determine the effect of context on L2 motivation. Shedivy (2004) also examined the effects of motivation in a multicultural context by examining five college students' motivations to continue studying Spanish past the usual two years in High School where all five chose to study abroad in Spanish speaking countries. Her data consisted of recorded taped interviews with open-ended questions, which she transcribed and analyzed phenomenologically. Five common themes emerged and were categorized as "spark," "a desire to blend in," "a desire to immerse," "pragmatic orientations," and "a new political awareness." Shevidy claims that although these orientations interact differently, all of them indicate a sense of integrativeness consistent with Gardner's integrative framework.

It has also been proposed that an integrative motivation affects two related outcomes: the development of native-like pronunciation and the development of *anomie* (a concern for the loss of identity) (Lambert et al., 1963, as cited in Spolsky, 2000). In order to learn a language and overcome this *anomie*, there must be a strong desire to integrate into the L2 community. Findings from Moyer's (2007) study of 50 immigrant

English language learners in the U.S.A indicate that the learners who reported comfort with cultural assimilation significantly correlated with accent ratings. The study also shows that the learners who seemed more likely to be concerned with their accent were those who intended on staying in an English-speaking environment long term.

Interestingly, empirical studies within an EFL context suggest that English, as opposed to other foreign languages, shows an increasingly deviating motivational pattern with regard to integrativeness (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Humphreys & Spratt, 2008; Lamb, 2004). These studies indicate that learners may not possess the desire to integrate into the English speaking community specifically, but rather possess the desire to integrate into a global community due to the powerful forces of globalization. In particular, Dörnyei and Csizér's (2002) study offers significant insight into the role of integrativeness in L2 motivation because it provides a national context with a fairly homogenous population that underwent a large language-related transformation as a result of the collapse of the Communist rule in 1989. At that time, Hungary's educational system replaced Russian with western languages, foreign television became widespread, and the country opened up its borders to multinational companies. From 1993 to 1999, Dörnyei and Csizér investigated the motivation of 8,593 Hungarian adolescents to learn five target languages, including English. The results of this study showed that, during those years, all of the integrativeness scores decreased significantly, except for English, and a similar tendency was observed in terms of instrumentality scores, where the English score also increased. Informed by these findings, Dörnyei and Csizér suggest that, with the advent of a "language globalization" process and the absence of a salient L2

group, the term integrativeness may refer to identification with cultural and intellectual values that are associated with the language instead of a psychological and emotional identification with the L2 community.

Lamb's (2004) empirical study of 219 first year Indonesian EFL students between the ages of 11 and 12 also indicated that English may have lost its association with particular Anglophone cultures. Lamb concludes that it may no longer be relevant to consider whether learners have a favorable attitude toward English speaking cultures. His study shows that these learners attach great importance to English (35% regard it as important; 64% regard it as very important). Lamb also argues that it is difficult to separate the concepts of integrative motivation and instrumental motivation since aspirations, such as meeting westerners, understanding pop songs, studying or traveling abroad, and pursuing a desirable career, are all associated with each other and with English as an integral part of the globalization processes that transform learners' society and, consequently, affect their own lives. As Lamb put it, "the English language is so important to this 'world citizen' identity because it is both a means and an end" (p. 16). These young learners appeared to be striving toward a bicultural identity, as a Sumatran Indonesian and as an Indonesian world citizen. Therefore, their role models may no longer be English speakers, but rather other global citizens. Humphreys and Spratt (2008) reported similar findings in their study involving 526 Hong Kong tertiary students. The results of this study revealed distinct patterns of motivation towards various languages where English was perceived as having greater value and in affective terms was regarded more positively.

The globalization of English has inspired theoretical attempts to redefine L2 motivation with regards to integrativeness. Csizér and Dörnyei (2005) contend that it may be more apt to describe “integrativeness” in terms of a basic identification process within an individual’s self-concept. They draw on research in social psychology, which highlights *possible* and *ideal selves* where the “ideal self” represents the attributes that a person would like to possess. The researchers suggest that “integrativeness” be relabeled as the *Ideal L2 Self* suggesting that this label “can be used to explain the motivational set-up in diverse learning contexts... and it would also be suitable for studying the motivational basis of language globalization” (p. 30). In the same vein, Ryan (2006) argues that globalization creates hybrid forms of culture, language, and political organization, and challenges concepts of time and space, which in turn alter our sense of ownership of the language. When distinctions between the learner and the user become blurred, the boundary between the learner and the target language community also become obscure. This theory challenges the conventional teaching methodology where native speakers represent an ideal user of the language, and learners aspire to achieve native-like competence in English in order to integrate with speakers from the inner circle of English speaking countries. Instead, teaching methodologies should try to accommodate individuals’ communication needs on a daily basis within local networks. Ryan proposes a motivational model that moves beyond integrativeness where the learner, language, and the target language community are fixed entities to a framework where a learner aspires to become a legitimate member of an imagined global community. This global community is thought to be “dynamic and specific to the

individual; the learner is constantly creating and recreating an identity in response to the altering perceived demands of membership” (Ryan, 2006, p. 40).

Instrumentality

Although integrativeness prevails as the linchpin of classic L2 motivation theory, instrumentality remains another central component of Gardner’s L2 motivation theory, albeit a close second. Dörnyei and Csizér’s (2002) study of Hungarian adolescents shows that in terms of both language choice and intended effort, integrativeness clearly stands out and the only other variable that explains substantial variance is instrumentality. Lamb (2004) reaches the same conclusion in his study of Indonesian school children: “We have seen that an integrative and an instrumental orientation are difficult to distinguish as separate concepts” (p. 14). Aside from whether integrativeness and instrumentality are complementary or separate constructs, it is evident that instrumentality plays a vital role in learning a second language. Due to globalization, English may possess a distinct motivational pattern in relation to other languages where instrumentality dominates. Humphreys and Spratt’s (2008) study of 523 Hong Kong tertiary students found the instrumental dimension to supersede the integrative dimension for compulsory languages, where English instrumentality ranked higher than Putonghua instrumentality (4.83 and 4.37, respectively). However, in terms of three chosen languages (French, German, or Japanese), integrative motivation ranked highest and instrumental dimension came in a very close second. These findings led the authors to suggest that the integrativeness and instrumentality dimensions may vary depending on the language and the population they are applied to.

Two instrumental motivators that stand out above all others, and may possibly be related, concern education and employment opportunities. One study (Manfred, 2008) involving 243 Chinese ESL learners at a vocational educational institute in Business Administration suggests that an instrumental motivation is more prevalent than an integrative motivation. The majority of the students surveyed viewed pronunciation and, in particular, regarded English as important in order to find a job. Another study (Kouritzin, Piquemal, & Renaud, 2009) that surveyed more than 6,000 university students in Canada, Japan, and France reveals that the Japanese attach a high social value to learning a foreign language possibly due to its link with the business of international trade, the French view language study as a way to become professionally marketable, and the Canadians consider foreign language learning valuable because jobs in the civil service and government require English-French bilingualism.

Cooke (2006) reports the importance of employment and career concerns in four adult ESOL migrant learners in England. All four learners believed that improving their English would lead to better things, so they were motivated to acquire the oral and literacy skills that would help them meet the basic needs in their daily lives as well as to function as potential members of the workplace. For example, Dasha, a Russian asylum seeker in her forties, wanted to learn English in order to get a job as a nurse since she had many years of nursing experience. Xun was also motivated to improve his English for employment purposes. He hoped to assemble computers and needed English for his job interview. Mariana, a Columbian refugee in her 50's, wanted to learn English so that she could get a job that paid more money. She imagined herself working in a factory as a

packer. Haxhi, a 28-year-old asylum seeker from Kosovo, imagined himself as a future member of the plumbing community, which directly affected his motivation to learn English.

A motivation that is dominated by career-based reasons is not limited to adults. A study of senior high school students in Shanghai (ages 17-18) found that career aspects ranked highest in reasons for learning English accounting for 24.5% of the variance while an integrative motivation came in second accounting for 18.1% of the total variance (Kyriacou & Zhu, 2008). These results indicate that, due to the importance of English as a world language, Chinese pupils' motivation to learn English is dominated by instrumental reasons that relate to career enhancement and entering a good university. These results also provide evidence against the superiority of integrative motivation.

Although academic, employment, and monetary opportunities remain strong instrumental motivators, the desire to be understood should be added to the list. Accommodation theorists have identified this motivation as “communicative efficiency” (Beebe & Giles, 1984, as cited in Jenkins, 2002). In this case, the desire to exchange information also acts as an instrumental motivator.

There exist a number of instrumental reasons that motivate learners to learn a language; however, research suggests L2 motivation to be more complex than any single type of motivation by itself. For example, in Moyer's (2007) study of 50 immigrant learners of English in the U.S.A., 24% reported being professionally motivated to learn English, while 71% reported their reasons for learning as both personal and professional. In fact, Gardner and Tremblay (1994) argue that to characterize motivation in terms of

either integrativeness or instrumentality is too simplistic when describing L2 motivation. They point out that there are multiple models that depict different motivational constructs in order to describe factors that influence L2 motivation and there is considerable convergence amongst all of them.

In sum, language learners may be motivated to learn a language for integrative reasons (to interact with or become members of the L2 community), for instrumental reasons (for academic or employment opportunities), or for both. With regards with learning English in particular, additional forces, such as those related to accessing and functioning in a globalized world, may also greatly contribute to increasing their motivation to learn the language.

However, while integrative and instrumental motivations are powerful forces that compel an individual to learn a language, there appear to be outside social forces that may adversely affect these motivations. These social forces are rooted in power relations, and may hinder language development even on learners with a strong motivation to learn a language. We shall call these social forces “motivational roadblocks.” Although these motivational roadblocks affect to some extent the acquisition and development of many different language skills—speaking, listening, reading, writing, vocabulary development, and pronunciation—it has been found that their influence is very strong in relation to pronunciation improvement (see, for example, Forey & Lockwood, 2007; Gatbonton, Trofimovich & Magid, 2005; Lippi-Green, 1997). To gain a better understanding on this issue, the following section focuses on reviewing studies that examine the effects of social forces on English language learners’ desire to improve their pronunciation skills.

Motivational Roadblocks Affecting English Pronunciation Improvement

According to Vygotskian sociocultural theory, language is a cultural tool or “meditational means” that humans employ to facilitate intermental and intramental functioning (Wertsch, 1991). The basic tenet of this approach is that “human mental functioning is inherently situated in social interactional, cultural, institutional, and historical contexts” (p. 86). Some outside social forces (or “intermental” forces) may adversely affect individuals’ integrative and instrumental motivations (or “intramental” forces) to learn a language. This section reviews research on social issues or forces affecting English pronunciation improvement. These issues relate to identity, social bias and discrimination, communication breakdown, and negative emotions.

Identity Issues in Pronunciation

Motivational processes and issues of identity are intertwined as suggested by Woodruff and Schallert’s (2008) study of nine college student athletes. These researchers focused on student-athletes in order to gain insight into the motivational process because these individuals may experience conflicting sets of motivations and self-issues. Through observation and interviews, the researchers discovered a process model that depicted “how inseparable were the motivational and self processes that student-athletes experienced in negotiating who they were and what motivated them in the domains of athletics and academics” (p. 52). They found that the students negotiated multiple identities and experienced different motivational processes, which were “influenced at many levels by the multiple relationships they were building with others around them” (p. 54). Although their research investigated student-athletes, the researchers anticipate

students in other domains to experience similar challenges with regards to making sense of conflicting identities. Like student-athletes, language learners are also influenced by the multiple relationships they build with others and they too may experience conflicting sets of motivations and potential senses of self and identities.

As discussed in the first section of this report, some learners have an integrative motivation to improve their second language skills, and more specifically their accent, in order to become members of the L2 community. For example, in their study of 132 advanced pronunciation learners in Austria, Smit and Dalton (2000) found the majority of the students to be highly motivated to improve their English pronunciation with a goal of near native-like fluency; thus, suggesting signs of anomie and a willingness to integrate. However, that is not the case for all learners. In fact, some learners prefer *not* to sound native-like in order to preserve their cultural identification. For example, a study that examined the motivations of 96 Danish EFL learners found that it is feasible “to prefer (certain aspects of) American culture, and at the same time, not wanting to speak with, or even dislike, an American accent” (Ladeaard & Sachdev, 2006, p. 105). As research shows, tensions between language identities and group affiliations may influence a language learner’s motivation to change an established accent (Gatbonton et al., 2005; Piller, 2002).

Because speech is an essential marker of social belonging, the way one speaks depends on the impression that one wishes to create in a particular context (Jones 1997; Levis, 2005). Learners who identify with native speakers in a second language community are more likely to sound like native speakers, while other learners who wish

to retain identification with their own culture may consciously or unconsciously retain a foreign accent as an L2 social marker of in-group affiliation (see a comprehensive review of identity studies in second language pronunciation in Levis, 2005). Research shows that this social marking occurs even in the earliest stages of second language acquisition (Dowd et al., 1990, as cited in Jones, 1997). Learners may view accurate pronunciation in the L2 as disloyal to their L1 ethnic group and may possess a fear of assimilation instead of an integrative motivation.

Gatbonton et al. (2005) conducted two studies to investigate the relation between learners' L2 accent or pronunciation accuracy, and ethnic group affiliation. They define *pronunciation accuracy* as "the degree to which learners' speech is free of segmental and suprasegmental features characteristic of their native language," and *ethnic group affiliation* as "a sense of belonging to one's ethnolinguistic group" (Gatbonton et al., 2005, p. 492). The studies were conducted 30 years apart and involved learners from different sociopolitical contexts in Quebec: conflictual (Francophone) and nonconflictual (Chinese). The researchers claim that (a) 'ethnic group affiliation' is socially constructed, and (b) language learners are subject to social forces that arise from both the L1 and the L2 communities, which pressure them to constantly reflect, reaffirm, renegotiate or reconstruct their identities as members of both groups. Both studies present the robust finding that the more learners sound like the speakers of the L2 community, the less they are perceived to be loyal to their L1 community by fellow learners. Thus, this association between accent and affiliation might affect English learners' way and desire to acquire accuracy in L2 pronunciation. When learners face mounting pressure from their peers and

L1 community and recognize the social consequences of their infidelity, they may become demotivated and lose any incentive to improve their pronunciation. Spolsky's (2000) six case studies of adult immigrants from the former Soviet Union living in Israel evidences complex motivational and identity patterns where some immigrants "aspired to 'a perfect second language proficiency' (which would have implied a complete integrative motivation)" and some "left 'empty regions' in their proficiency symbolically representing and so maintaining their previous identity associated with their native language" (Spector, 1998, as cited in Spolsky, 2000 p. 163).

Two case studies involving international students from Taiwan who came to the United States as masters students in a TESOL program show the students' multiple and conflicting identities as legitimate speakers and teachers of English due to the prevalent ideology of native speaker superiority (Golombek & Jordan, 2005). Shai-mei felt inadequate because she thought that any deviation from native-like speech would be damaging to her identity as an English speaker and teacher. However, at the same time, she expressed that accents are natural and not shameful, and ESL learners do not need to become "parrots" by speaking like Americans. Instead, they should produce talk that reflects their unique identities. Similarly, Lydia felt inferior when compared to native speakers and, therefore, viewed herself as a "black lamb." She thought people would perceive her as less than adequate or unintelligent due to her accent.

In sum, issues with identity may pose a challenge with regard to integrative motivations for language learning. Not only is it unrealistic to expect non-native English speakers to sound native-like per the Critical Period Hypothesis, some students may be

hesitant to change their accent and sound native-like due to tensions between language identities and group affiliations. Hence, if teachers seek to sustain L2 language motivation in learners, it is imperative that they engage in approaches that allow students the opportunity to negotiate conflicting identities.

Discrimination and Stereotyping

According to Lippi-Green (1997), language-focused discrimination is widespread in the U.S. for statistical studies and hiring audits have detected its prevalence. In fact, Lippi-Green cites twenty-five language-related discrimination cases in the workplace, in all of which accent, language use, and communication figured predominantly. Similarly, Munro's (2003) overview of human rights' cases that relate to accent discrimination within the Canadian context shows that most cases of discrimination in Canada pertain to employment, tenancy, or the provision of services. Munro groups these cases in three categories: (a) cases in which accent is considered in hiring decisions, (b) cases of discrimination in employment and tenancy due to accent stereotyping, and (c) cases of harassment of second-language users where accent is a factor. In some cases, work performance was unaffected by accentedness and the complainant won the case. For example, in one case a substitute teacher was denied employment due to concerns about his accent even though the respondent provided no evidence that the teacher's accent had ever interfered with his work (*Mirek Gajecki v. Board of Trustees, School District No. 36 [Surrey], 1990*). The teacher was compensated for lost wages, hurt, indignity, and embarrassment. Munro also reports two other separate cases of linguistic profiling where a witness verified that speakers with different accents received different responses over

the telephone (*Mehdi Najari v. Dennis Wayne Cook doing business*, 1993), and two other cases involving harassment where a person was ridiculed or subjected to racist comments due to accentedness (*Balbir Singh Ahlwat v. Corporation of Surrey*, 1990; *Cecilia Segula v. Pat Ferrante and Ball Packaging Products*, 1997). These cases involved shaming although their job performance was unaffected by their language skills. Fortunately, the aforementioned complainants won their cases and were awarded between \$2000 and \$3000 for humiliation. However, not all the cases ended in this way. In some cases relating to employment opportunities, the complainant lost due to issues with intelligibility. Munro cites unintelligible speech as one of many reasons for why a person may react negatively to an accent, “some people may disfavor accented speech if it is unintelligible or requires some special effort to comprehend. In fact, it is well known that second-language users sometimes have difficulty making themselves understood” (Munro, 2003, p. 39). For example, Munro mentions two other cases in which the two workers were denied employment because people had difficulty understanding them (*Jacques Clau v. Uniglobe Pacific Travel*, 1995, and *Roberto Guillen v. R. Dufour Enterprises Ltd.*, 1995). Jacques Clau was a French travel agent who alleged that he was not hired because of his French accent. Clau lost the case due to two important pieces of information: (a) several witnesses who also worked at the agency testified that “they had found Clau difficult to understand over the telephone” (p. 44), and (b) the agency employed other workers who spoke with French accents. Similarly, Roberto Guillen alleged that he had been dismissed from his job at a trucking company due to his Spanish accent. However, his case was not upheld because it was argued that he “experienced

communication problems with customers over the telephone and had confused some of the orders” (p. 45).

Discrimination due to accentedness is also found in academia. For example, Lippi-Green (1997) cites a number of studies that demonstrate undergraduate bias and stereotyping toward ITAs resulting from the undergraduates’ inability to (a) distinguish between accents, and (b) make fair assessments of the ITAs’ English proficiency. The scholar argues that undergraduate students continually build expectations around accent, and give native speaking teachers the benefit of the doubt while they condemn non-native speaking teachers of English.

Researchers at the University of Chicago conducted two experiments to investigate how accentedness impacts a speaker’s credibility (Lev-Ari & Keyser, 2010). The researchers claim that a non-native accent may cause a speaker to appear less credible for two main reasons. First, the accent serves as a signal that the speaker is an outsider, which conjures up stereotypes and social prejudice that may impact the speaker’s credibility. Second, the accent may make non-native speech harder to process and difficult to understand. The researchers claim that there is some evidence for the former, but not for the latter. Therefore, they decided to test whether processing difficulty makes it difficult to believe non-native speakers by way of two experiments. In the first experiment, 35 native speakers of American English assigned truth-values to recorded statements from native speakers, non-native speakers with a mild accent, and non-native speakers with a heavy accent. In the second experiment, 27 native speakers of English rated the same statements in terms of difficulty of understanding the speaker. The

researchers found that, “when people listen to accented speech, the difficulty they encounter reduces ‘processing fluency’.” But instead of perceiving the statements as difficult to understand, they perceive them as less truthful. Consequently, non-native speakers who have an accent are seen as less credible” (p. 1095). These researchers claim that the results of their study have important implications in the modern world where millions of non-natives use English in their daily lives. People may judge people less credible than they actually are, even people who would otherwise appeal to our capacity to trust, for example job seekers. This study was recently featured in *The New York Times* (“A Failure to communicate,” Aug., 2010).

In sum, whether learners desire to learn a language for integrative reasons, instrumental reasons, or both, it is possible for discrimination and social bias to stymie their efforts. Some learners may remain outsiders and only engage in superficial contact with native speakers and some learners may be denied employment opportunities due to their “accentedness.” As mentioned above, the problem of social bias and discrimination may have less to do with “accentedness” and more to do with non-native speech that is harder to process and difficult to understand. Because of this, it is critical that teachers engage in teaching practices that will help their students produce a speech that is easier to process and understand.

Communication Breakdown due to Pronunciation

Problems that hinder learners’ efforts to interact with or become members of an L2 community (local or global) as well as efforts to gain education and employment opportunities relate to communication breakdown. According to Chiang (2009), a

communication breakdown differs from a misunderstanding (a disparity between speech production and speech reception) and a miscommunication (a misinterpretation of the meaning of an utterance). A communication breakdown refers to (a) contradictions between communicative effects and communicative intentions, (b) feelings of dissatisfaction that are often attributed to participants' membership in contrasting social groups, or (c) participants' perception that something has gone wrong.

Wannaruk (2008) argues that a communication breakdown refers to a "sociopragmatic failure" which is more serious than a linguistic failure because a non-native speaker may appear rude, impolite, or disrespectful. Sociopragmatic failure refers to "the mismatch which arises from cross-culturally different assessments within the social parameters affecting linguistic choice, size of imposition, social distance between speaker and hearer, relative rights and obligations, etc." (Thomas, 1984, p. 226, as cited in Wannaruk, 2008).

According to Jarvis and Stephens (1994), although cultural factors remain a significant issue in interpersonal communications between native and non-native speakers, linguistic factors, which include pronunciation, are equally responsible. They claim that unfamiliar and "strong" accents not only obscure words, but also carry different meanings and implicatures. Implicature conveyed by prosodic features such as stress and pitch are not universal, but vary according to the language. When speakers from different linguistic backgrounds interact, they tend to interpret prosody in a way that is consistent with their native-language backgrounds (i.e., some languages do not use a rising pitch in questions). Jarvis and Stephens (1994) cite miscommunication of intent as

the most common and unfortunate type of communication breakdown in international business. In this case, the listener fails to comprehend or misinterprets the speaker's intention.

Forey and Lockwood (2007) investigated communication breakdowns in authentic transactions between a non-native English speaker (the Customer Service Representative in a U.S. based insurance claims call center in the Philippines) and a native English speaker (the customer) and found that, although outsourcing brings up social, political, and economic issues, the movement also has language implications. The results of this study point to poor interactional discourse skills as a primary cause of communication failure where non-native customer service representatives were unable to perceive native speakers' attitudes, which were conveyed through the deliberate use of phonological patterns. For example, when a customer says, "I will say this one more time" with a flat intonation, a deliberate slowing down, and an equal stress on all the vowels suggests that the customer is unhappy and impatient; however, the non-native customer service representative construed this literally to mean that the customer simply wants to repeat himself or herself.

Communication breakdown between international teaching assistants (ITAs) and students has sparked a nationwide concern that non-native instructors' linguistic problems may adversely affect U.S. higher education (Chiang, 2009). The sources of these communication problems are linguistic as well as cultural. One study compared native speaker instructors with ITAs in one major US research university and found ITAs

to have a considerably weaker control of intonational structure that affected students' listening comprehension (Pinker, 2004, as cited in Chiang, 2009).

Communication breakdowns do not only occur between a native speaker and a non-native speaker, but also between two non-native English speakers. Jenkins' (2002) research draws on three sets of field data of interactions between non-native speakers in both classroom as well as social situations in order to provide empirical evidence that could inform phonological intelligibility claims. She found that communication breakdowns are more difficult to resolve in interactions between two non-native speakers with different L1s than between a native-speaker and a non-native because interlocutors are not able to process contextual cues to compensate for their interlocutors' pronunciation errors. She found that a communication breakdown occurs when non-natives focus on segmental cues and miss important contextual information that is embedded in higher-level language features (i.e., suprasegmentals). Through interviews, she found increased communication difficulties when "world citizens" use English as a means of communication.

In sum, communication breakdowns also have the potential to hinder learners' integrative and instrumental motivations to learn a language. A communication breakdown often arises when a non-native speaker fails to acknowledge the connection between the cultural paralinguistic features of the language (suprasegmentals) and meaning. Therefore, it is necessary to engage in teaching practices that help students to draw connections between the two.

Negative Emotions

General and language specific research on motivation has tended to focus primarily on social-cognitive models and less on the important role of affect and emotions (Brown & White, 2010; Pintrich, 2003). Past research into the role of affect in language learning has predominantly focused on anxiety (for a comprehensive review on foreign and second language anxiety, see Horwitz, 2010). However, there has been a renewed interest that considers the host of emotions and affective responses in multilingualism that affect the language learning process (Pavlenko, 2005, 2006, as cited in Brown & White, 2010). The aforementioned motivational barriers (conflicting identities, social bias and discrimination, and communication breakdown), as well as other individual factors, may arouse strong negative emotions, such as frustration, anxieties, and stress. These negative emotions can hinder students' efforts to improve their pronunciation.

Frustration refers to “a deep chronic sense or state of insecurity and dissatisfaction arising from unresolved problems or unfulfilled needs” (Merriam-Webster). In Golombek and Jordan's (2005) case study, Shao-mei and Lydia both reported feelings of frustration when trying to establish their identity as legitimate speakers of English by striving to achieve a native-like pronunciation. However, feelings of frustration are not limited to the second language learner, but also native speakers who interact with them. In Forey and Lockwood's (2007) investigation into the world of outsourcing, the researchers found that native English speaking customers experienced frustration when they confronted communication breakdown with a non-native customer service representative.

Unfortunately, the psychological dimension of pronunciation teaching has been virtually ignored; however because an individual's pronunciation has much to do with his or her emotional state at any given time, it deserves some attention (Jones, 1997). At least one study reports that students believe their emotional state affects their English pronunciation (Derwing & Rossiter, 2002). Pronunciation can also function in a kind of loop where not only can emotion show up in pronunciation, but speakers can control their inner states by speaking properly (Acton, 1984, as cited in Jones, 1997).

In conclusion, in order to combat negative emotions (and mostly, frustration) resulting from issues related to identity, social bias and discrimination, and communication breakdown, it is important that teachers engage in teaching strategies that will motivate and empower students to confront these challenges with confidence.

The following section offers some suggestions in terms of pronunciation teaching strategies that will help students when facing the aforementioned challenges.

Pronunciation Teaching Strategies to Motivate and Empower Students

Although learners may be intrinsically and/or instrumentally motivated to learn a second language and improve their pronunciation, some motivational barriers, such as conflicting identities, social bias/discrimination, communication breakdowns, and negative emotions, may decrease or hinder such motivation. The classroom provides a potential site for maintaining and initiating motivation by:

1. Fostering the construction and negotiation of new identities;
2. Empowering students to overcome language subordination;
3. Providing the necessary tools to reduce the frequency of communication breakdown;
4. Fostering positive emotional states.

In view of the literature reviewed and considering this observed potential for initiating and maintaining motivation in a language class, I propose the following goals for the pronunciation class:

1. Foster multi-competence and promote multilingualism.
2. Promote mutual intelligibility.
3. Promote communicative competence through discourse and sociopragmatic awareness.

What follows is a discussion of each of these goals with suggestions for activities and specific motivational strategies geared towards achieving the goals in the pronunciation class

Foster Multi-Competence and Promote Multilingualism

Multi-competence was originally coined by Cook in 1991 and refers to “a compound state of mind with two languages” (Cook, 1999, p. 190). This term is derived from a term used in linguistics, *competence*. In linguistics, *competence* refers to “the native speaker’s knowledge of language; it does not involve a judgment about whether such competence is good or bad according to some outside criterion” (p. 190). In this same vein, *Multi-competence* views L1 and L2 thought processes and language knowledge holistically “free from evaluation against an outside standard” (p. 190). In other words, the second language learner is not judged by using the native speaker as a yardstick. A focus on Multi-competence is a critical approach to pronunciation instruction. A Multi-competence approach may (a) help learners to construct and negotiate identities, (b) empower learners to overcome language subordination, (c) provide learners with a tool to reduce the number of communication breakdowns, and (d) foster positive emotions when learning the L2. Some L2 learners may not want to sound native-like due to conflicting identities and it is unrealistic for teachers to encourage them to sound like native speakers. A *native speaker* is defined as “a speaker of the language learned first” and, therefore, by definition L2 users can never become native speakers unless they were reborn; however, although researchers and teachers have recognized this, the native speaker maintains “a ghostlike presence” (Cook, 1999, p. 190).

Multi-competence not only provides an avenue by which English learners may negotiate conflicting identities by asserting their own cultural identities, it also creates a space to imagine new identities (Golombek & Jordan, 2005). Multi-competence allows learners the opportunity to improve their pronunciation, without the fear of giving up their L1 identity. It also allows them an opportunity to create alternative imagined identities as members of a global community. In this way, they may establish legitimacy as a speaker of English and challenge the ideology of native speaker superiority.

The language classroom not only serves as a safe haven free of discrimination and social bias, it may also serve as a venue to promote international cooperation and tolerance among people. It is possible that an exposure to multiple English varieties may help students to become more tolerant of different English varieties (Matsuura et al., 1999, as cited in Matsuura, 2007). Moreover, due to globalization, it is important that people with different accents be able to understand one another. A Multi-competence approach to pronunciation instruction will increase English learners' comprehension of unfamiliar accents.

Matsuura (2007) examined the relationship between familiarity with different English varieties and intelligibility in terms of perceived comprehensibility. This study investigated the intelligibility of American English and Hong Kong-accented English with respect to 106 Japanese EFL listeners. A majority of the participants were most often exposed to standard varieties of English (i.e., North American English, Japanese English, and British English); however, a small percentage of the participants (3.7%) were exposed to other varieties of English. None of the participants reported familiarity

with Hong Kong-accented English. The results of this study showed a significant correlation between the number of English varieties to which a student was exposed and listening intelligibility of Hong Kong English. This finding suggests that the more varieties of English to which students are exposed, the better their understanding of a nonstandard variety will be.

Finally, Multi-competence may foster positive emotions and increase motivation because students will no longer feel frustrated when trying to attain the unrealistic goal of a native-like accent. In fact, it is suggested that goals regulate thoughts and actions that shape students' emotions (Pekrun, Maier, & Elliot, 2006). It is important to help students understand both what they are capable of as well as what they are incapable of and offer goals that are within the students' range of competence; this allows students to feel confident that they can succeed (Pintrich, 2003). Since multi-competence is within the students' reach, it follows that students' may feel less frustrated and more confident about their pronunciation.

Suggestions to foster Multi-competence and promote multilingualism:

Multi-competence supports an international model of intelligibility where emphasis is placed on the student as a L2 user, not the native speaker. Some practical ways of implementing this model in the classroom are:

- 1) Use authentic recordings that represent skilled L2 use. The use of non-native speakers, achievable models, in addition to native speakers may motivate students to improve their pronunciation if they see the goal as realistic and attainable.

- 2) Introduce activities that deliberately involve the L1 and L2. For example, have students write something in their native language and have them explain it in their L2. Another activity would be to allow them to record a speech first in their native language and then in English and evaluate the similarities and disparities between the two. These activities will reinforce the link between the L1 and the L2, and further develop the student's Multi-competence.
- 3) Allow students to engage in conversations with a variety of L2 speakers with different accents around the world. This approach is especially conducive to mixed L1 classrooms; however, same-L1 classrooms can engage in live L2 video or audio chat rooms on the Internet.

Promote Mutual Intelligibility

Two competing pronunciation ideologies have heavily influenced pronunciation pedagogy and research over the years, *the nativeness principle* and *the intelligibility principle*. The *nativeness principle* advocates “it is both possible and desirable to achieve native-like pronunciation in a foreign language” whereas the *intelligibility principle* “recognizes that learners simply need to be understandable...(and that) communication can be remarkably successful when foreign accents are noticeable or even strong” (Levis, 2005).

Intelligibility may be described as a two-way process that not only considers the production of speakers, but also emphasizes the perceptions of the listeners (Field, 2005; Zielinski, 2008). Perception and production are critical to the negotiation of meaning

(Moyer, 2007). Smith and Nelson (1985) were the first to make a distinction between local formal recognition (intelligibility) and global processing effort (comprehensibility) in order to examine overall communicative success and failure. Researchers have applied this distinction to their methodology by measuring “intelligibility” with the listener’s ability to transcribe an utterance using actual words, and by measuring “comprehensibility” with the listener’s judgment ratings of “how easy it was to understand the speaker” using a Likert scale (Munro & Derwing, 1995).

Due to extensive research into the critical period, it appears that acquiring a native-like accent in an L2 may be unrealistic (Flege, Munro, & MacKay, 1995; Long, 1990; Mayberry & Lock, 2003). However, despite an overwhelming amount of evidence that supports the critical period hypothesis in addition to evidence that learners may not want to sound native-like due to conflicting identities, the *nativeness principle* continues to drive English pronunciation instruction. Discrimination and bias against foreign accentedness, as previously mentioned, has

catalyzed the rise of accent reduction programs, which aim to reduce or eliminate foreign accents altogether [and] these programs inherently suggest that an accent is, in itself, a bad thing, and is subject to *treatment*, *intervention*, or even *eradication* in much the same way as a language pathology (Munro & Derwing, 1995, p. 74).

A focus on intelligibility (*intelligibility principle*), instead of accuracy (*nativeness principle*) provides learners with a channel through which they may negotiate between two conflicting identities (L1 versus L2 group affiliation). A focus on intelligibility not only allows students the opportunity to interact with members of the L2 community and/or become members of a local or global community (integrative motivation), it also

allows students the option of either reducing or retaining their foreign accent depending on each individual's sociological motivation for language learning.

A focus on intelligibility can also empower students when facing discrimination and social bias. As previously mentioned, discrimination and social bias are often attributed to an accentedness that make non-native speakers difficult to understand (e.g., undergraduates' difficulty in understanding ITAs, human rights cases where it was difficult to understand non-natives over the telephone, people's general distrust and lack of confidence in non-native speakers due to a difficulty in understanding). This intolerance for foreign accents might have less to do with accentedness and more to do with a difficulty in understanding (intelligibility). Therefore, a focus on intelligibility in pronunciation instruction, not accent reduction, will help to make non-native learners of English easier to understand, thus empowering students when facing social adversity (discrimination).

In fact, 311 Americans (80% of which identified their ethnicity as "white") from a communication class participated in a study that evaluated attitudinal and affective responses toward accented English based on variations in intelligibility (Bresnahan, Ohashi, Nebashi, & Sherman, 2002). In this study, the researchers auditioned 15 non-native speakers and selected the most intelligible and the least intelligible speakers of English. Then they asked these two speakers (along with an American native speaker) to record readings based on identical scripts. The participants listened to these tapes and completed a 101-item questionnaire that measured comprehension of the recorded message. Attitude and affective response toward the accent, two dependent variables,

were measured using Zahn and Hopper's (1985) Speech Evaluation Instrument and Mehrabian and Russell (1974) Mood States Scale, respectively (see a description of these instruments in Bresnahan et al., 2002). The former identified three factors: competence, attractiveness, and dynamism; and the latter identified three factors: pleasure, dominance, and emotional arousal. The results of this study show that in terms of attitude, a more positive attitude was associated with intelligible compared to unintelligible foreign accent, and in terms of affect, an intelligible foreign accent was seen as more pleasant, less arousing, and more dominant than unintelligible foreign accent. Similarly, Rooy (2009) conducted three case studies of Korean learners from the expanding circle traveling to an outer circle context (Potchefstroom, South Africa). She interviewed the participants and passages from the interviews were selected for a perception experiment, where South African users of English listened to the samples and provided feedback on questions pertaining to intelligibility, comprehensibility, and interpretability as well as their attitudes toward South Korean speakers of English. The results evidenced a significant correlation between South Africans' attitudes towards South Korean speakers of English, and the ease or difficulty with which they understood South Korean speakers of English.

In light of these studies, it is evident that a focus on intelligibility (not accent reduction) in the classroom will empower students when facing social bias and discrimination. It is quite possible for students to retain their foreign accent without compromising intelligibility. In fact, the results of Munro and Derwing's (1995) study, which examined the interrelationship among accentedness, perceived comprehensibility,

and intelligibility in speech produced by 10 Mandarin learners, provides empirical evidence that a strong accent does not necessarily result in reduced intelligibility or comprehensibility.

A focus on intelligibility may also help learners to reduce the frequency of communication breakdowns they experience. According to Derwing, Thomson, and Munro (2006), “there is no question that a foreign accent can adversely affect communication because of reduced intelligibility” (p. 184). As mentioned earlier, communication breakdowns may be linguistic as well as cultural. For example, the already-reviewed studies examining communication breakdowns (Chiang, 2009; Forey & Lockwood, 2007) show that both non-native Customer Service Representatives and ITAs had problems producing and perceiving English intonation patterns. However, English language learners often attribute their pronunciation problems to segmentals (specific consonant and vowel phonemes) instead of suprasegmental or prosodic features (i.e., phenomena that extend over more than one sound segment, such as assimilation and linking, word stress, phrase stress, intonation and rhythm, and so on). In Derwing and Rossiter’s (2002) study of 100 adult ESL learners, 84% of the problems identified by respondents related to segmentals and only 10% of the problems mentioned related to prosody. It is crucial that students understand the importance of prosodic features such as intonation when they experience communication breakdown for research suggests that suprasegmentals play a more important role in overall communicative success than segmentals. However, Derwing and Munro (2009) suggest, “the responsibility for successful communication should be shared across interlocutors” (p. 486); the speaker is

not always at fault every time there is a communication breakdown for “some listeners will fail to understand even the clearest L2 speaker” (p. 486). Therefore, because effective communication and increased intelligibility is not only in the hands of the speaker, but also the listener, it is important to expose students to L2 speakers with different language backgrounds. This “familiarity instruction” makes listeners much more confident and therefore willing to interact with other L2 speakers.

Zielinski (2008) investigated the impact of different L2 speech features on the intelligibility of L2 speakers to native listeners using three native speakers of Australian English (listeners) and three L2 English speakers from different L1 backgrounds (Korea, China, and Vietnam). The results of this study found that the listeners relied heavily and consistently on syllable stress pattern in order to identify intended words at sites of reduced intelligibility. They also found non-standard prosodic features (i.e., misplaced syllable stress) to mislead listeners into wrongly identifying a speaker’s utterance. There were three non-standard syllable stress patterns that misled listeners: a non-standard pattern of strong and weak syllables, the non-standard addition of syllables, and the non-standard deletion of syllables.

Although drawing students’ attention to the different aspects of intelligibility aids learners to negotiate conflicting identities and empowers them when facing discrimination and communication breakdown via mutual understanding, it may also foster positive emotional states. Since pronunciation functions in a loop (as previously mentioned), speakers may experience positive emotions by speaking better; that is to say, with increased intelligibility.

In sum, it is clear that the absence of intelligible pronunciation in English can severely compromise human interaction where the costs are economic as well as social (Derwing et al., 2006). Whether language learners aspire to learn English in order to interact with a local or global culture (integrative motivation) or whether they want to improve their English in order to seek academic and/or employment opportunities (instrumental motivation) or both, intelligibility will aid students in their pursuit.

Suggestions to promote mutual intelligibility in the classroom:

Some practical ways of implementing a classroom model that places emphasis on intelligibility rather than on accuracy are:

1. Focus only on segmentals that interfere with intelligibility (See Jenkins, 2002).
2. Stress stress! Help students understand the rules that determine certain word stress patterns (See Celce-Murcia, Brinton, & Goodwin, 1996, for a comprehensive list of stress patterns).
3. Make sure students are aware that the incorrect misplacement of word stress can cause misunderstanding.
4. Help students understand the importance of sentence stress. Make sure they understand the difference between content words (words that are often stressed) and function words (words which are usually unstressed).

5. Show the connection between sentence stress and rhythm. Nursery rhymes music would be a great way to introduce this concept to students.
6. Show how connected speech occurs through linking (liaison). For example, when a word ends in a consonant and the next word begins with a vowel.
7. Draw students' attention to thought groups and intonation units.
8. Familiarize students with different accents. For example, ask students to listen to other L2 students or recordings of L2 users with different L1 backgrounds.

Promote Communicative Competence through Discourse and Sociopragmatic Awareness

Spoken language is not only a series of sounds; it is a means of communication. Therefore, it is important to draw students' attention to the connection between the phonological features of the English (vis-à-vis suprasegmentals) and the semantic aspects associated with them. In fact, Jones (1997) claims that this approach has the potential to motivate learners.

It is obvious that creating a stronger link between pronunciation and communication can help increase learners' motivation by bringing pronunciation beyond the lowest common denominator of "intelligibility" and encouraging students' awareness of its potential as a tool for making their language not only easier to understand but more effective (p. 109).

Therefore, Jones suggests that L2 learners engage in free practice that allows them the opportunity to interact in discourse situations that exemplify a variety of suprasegmental features. According to Bruner (1986), the pragmatic functions of language are

concerned with orienting oneself toward others and using the tool of language to obtain the ends one seeks through affecting the actions and attitudes of others towards oneself and toward the world through stance marking (p. 125).

A communicative approach to pragmatic awareness in the classroom will provide students with a tool in which to orient themselves with respect to others by conveying their attitudes which allow them to construct their sense of self in different situations, thus providing an avenue in which to negotiate conflicting identities.

Since communication breakdown is caused by sociopragmatic failure, which is not only affected by linguistic factors, but also sociocultural factors. The promotion of pragmatic awareness will address both of these. “Pragmatics for all its linguistic pedigree, probably can never be an exclusively linguistic concern. It is too rooted in principles of human action and interaction” (Bruner, 1981, p. 41). It is important that learners are aware that suprasegmentals can be manipulated for pragmatic effect, for contrast (e.g., This is MY pencil, not YOUR pencil.), for intensification (e.g., Get down here NOW!), or for ironic or humorous effect (when words don’t match the expected pitch contours, such as the example cited above when a customer conveyed irony by saying he would repeat himself with an unexpected pitch contour). An awareness of such paralinguistic features may help to resolve communication breakdown because not only non-native

listeners will be able to manipulate the language in order to transmit their intention, but non-native interlocutors will be better equipped to understand a speaker's intent.

In sum, a communicative approach to sociopragmatic and discourse awareness allows students the opportunity to establish their sense of self, while simultaneously providing them with the necessary means to prevent or resolve communication breakdowns.

Suggestions for a communicative approach to sociopragmatic and discourse awareness:

1. Show how word stress is used to convey new information. Engage in activities that show how word stress may be used for contrast or intensification (emphasis). Role-playing activities, which allow students the opportunity to engage in a variety of discourse situations, are effective means of communicative practice.
2. Allow students to engage in activities that allow them to deviate from expected intonation patterns in order to connote irony or humor. Clips from T.V. sit-coms and comic strips may be used. An activity could be to show a few Saturday Night Live skits and then have the students come up with some of their own.

Conclusion

This report provides support to suggest that language learning motivation relies heavily on social-psychological reasons for language learning as well as utilitarian reasons; that is, integrativeness and instrumentality, respectively. Although students may possess one or both of these motivational types on their road toward English proficiency, they will likely confront pronunciation “roadblocks” that have the potential to stymie such motivations. These “roadblocks” refer to issues of identity, social bias and discrimination, and communication breakdown. Therefore, it is recommended that teachers use pronunciation-teaching strategies that have the potential to help English language learners circumvent such motivational roadblocks and continue on their journey of language learning. Motivational teaching strategies should aim for the following goals: foster multi-competence and multilingualism, promote mutual intelligibility, and promote communicative competence through sociopragmatic and discourse awareness.

While the literature that has been reported provides ample support for engaging in motivational teaching practices, there are limitations. At the moment, the goals and the motivational teaching strategies suggested in this report must be considered as working hypotheses. Empirical evidence is needed in order to justify my claims in favor of using the suggested strategies and activities to achieve the proposed goals for the pronunciation class. Future research will need to address whether the implementation of such an approach in the classroom actually allows learners to negotiate multilingual identities, empowers them when facing social bias and discrimination, and helps them to prevent or resolve cases of communication breakdown. To date, research into motivation within the

domain of pronunciation has received very little attention. It is my hope that the present report has contributed to these fields by bringing to light a previously unlit corner in L2 motivation and pronunciation research.

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